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FBIS 060 (SEE 022 AND ADDS)

'TEXT' OF GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH

TAKE 1 OF MANY -- GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH

LD2911121088 MOSCOW TASS IN ENGLISH 1204 GMT 29 NOV 88

[TEXT] MOSCOW NOVEMBER 29 TASS--FOLLOWS THE FULL TEXT OF THE  
REPORT "TOWARDS THE FULL POWER OF SOVIETS (POPULARLY ELECTED  
GOVERNING COUNCILS) AND THE CREATION OF A SOCIALIST RULE-OF-LAW  
STATE", WHICH WAS DELIVERED BY MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, PRESIDENT OF THE  
PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET (PARLIAMENT) OF THE USSR, AT A  
SUPREME SOVIET SESSION WHICH OPENED HERE ON TUESDAY:

COMRADE DEPUTIES,

AT THIS SPECIAL SESSION OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET WE ARE TO  
DISCUSS, WITH ACCOUNT TAKEN OF PRECEDING NATION-WIDE DEBATES, AND  
ADOPT DRAFT LAWS ON ELECTIONS AND ON AMENDMENTS TO THE USSR  
CONSTITUTION.

ALONG WITH PERESTROIKA IN THE PARTY, WHICH SHOULD BRING OUT ITS  
POTENTIAL AS THE POLITICAL VANGUARD OF SOCIETY, FREE IT OF FUNCTIONS  
WHICH ARE EXTRINSIC TO IT AND ENSURE A DIVISION OF LABOUR BETWEEN  
PARTY, GOVERNMENT, AND ECONOMIC AGENCIES, THE BILLS BEFORE THE  
SUPREME SOVIET PAVE THE WAY TO WIDE-RANGING PRACTICAL WORK TO EFFECT  
POLITICAL REFORM MAPPED OUT BY THE 19TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE  
CPSU.

A FURTHER AND STRONG FILLIP IS THUS BEING GIVEN TO THE PROCESS OF  
DEMOCRATIZING SOVIET SOCIETY.

WHAT IS THE PLACE OF THE PROJECTED CHANGES IN THE OVERALL  
PROGRAMME OF REVOLUTIONARY PERESTROIKA?

(MORE)

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FBIS

061

-TAKE 2 OF MANY -- 060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

Tue Nov 29 08:36:19 1988

///OF REVOLUTIONARY PERESTROIKA.

LD2911122588

[TEXT] IF WE ARE TO DEFINE THIS PARTICULAR MOMENT, TO DRAW, SO TO SAY, ITS POLITICAL PORTRAIT, WE CAN SAY THAT IT IS ONE OF TRANSITION FROM A PHASE WHERE THE SITUATION, WHICH HAD TAKEN SHAPE BY THE MID-'80S, WAS ANALYZED AND AN INTEGRAL CONCEPT FOR PERESTROIKA CONCEIVED, TO A PHASE WHERE IDEAS ARE INCREASINGLY ACQUIRING THE NATURE OF POLITICAL DIRECTIVES AND STATUTES AND PRACTICAL ACTION TO ORGANIZE LIFE IN A NEW WAY IS ASSUMING PRIORITY.

IT IS A PERIOD BOTH COMPLICATED AND DECISIVELY CRUCIAL.

PERESTROIKA IS THE TOP PRIORITY IN OUR ACTIVITIES. IT PROVIDES THE KEY TO PRESERVING AND DEVELOPING GENUINE SOCIALIST GAINS, IDEALS, AND PRINCIPLES, OVERCOMING THE ABERRATIONS AND NEGATIVE TRENDS OF THE PAST, AND TACKLING PRACTICAL TASKS IN EVERY REGION, LOCALITY, AND WORKER COLLECTIVE.

THIS IS WHY IT IS VITAL TO ACT SO THAT THIS PROCESS WILL GAIN IN STRENGTH AND NO CIRCUMSTANCES AND NO PARTICULAR PROBLEMS AND UNCLARITIES WILL BE ABLE TO HOLD IT BACK, LET ALONE JEOPARDIZE IT.

THIS, COMRADES, SHOULD BE REMEMBERED BY ALL OF US--BY EVERY WORKER, FARMER, INTELLECTUAL, EVERY SOVIET CITIZEN.

ONE DISTINCTIVE FEATURE OF THIS MOMENT IS THAT OUR FURTHER PROGRESS IS INCREASINGLY COMING UP AGAINST INADEQUATE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. WE FEEL THIS AT EVERY STEP.

THE ENACTMENT OF LAWS ON STATE ENTERPRISES AND COOPERATIVES AND THE CREATION OF CONDITIONS TO INTRODUCE PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNTING, CONTRACT AND LEASE-HOLDING ON A WIDE SCALE HAVE SET THE STAGE FOR GRADUALLY MENDING THINGS IN THE ECONOMY AND IMPROVING POPULAR LIVING STANDARDS.

BUT MANY SHOPFLOOR INITIATIVES ARE BEING LOST IN BUREAUCRATIC MAZES OR ARE EVEN ENCOUNTERING RESISTANCE.

THIS IS WHY THE MAIN LESSON OF THE RECENT PAST IS THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BREAK STAGNATION QUICKLY WITHOUT DEMOCRATIZING EVERY ASPECT OF OUR LIFE AND REVIVING THE SOVIETS (POPULARLY ELECTED GOVERNING COUNCILS) AS REPRESENTATIVE BODIES OF POWER AND POPULAR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

THIS ALSO ANSWERS A QUESTION ONE HEARS OFTEN, NAMELY: ISN'T IT TOO EARLY TO BUCKLE DOWN TO POLITICAL REFORM, WITHOUT FIRST BUILDING A MATERIAL BASIS FOR IT AND ACHIEVING A BREAKTHROUGH IN MEETING VITAL PUBLIC NEEDS FOR FOOD, CONSUMER GOODS, SERVICES AND HOUSING?

NO, COMRADES, THERE ARE NO EASY WAYS. I HAVE HAD MANY OCCASIONS TO SAY THAT IT IS ONLY BY COMBINING ECONOMIC REFORM WITH POLITICAL CHANGES, DEMOCRATIZATION AND GLASNOST (PUBLIC OPENNESS) THAT WE CAN FULFIL BOTH THE IMMEDIATE AND LONG-TERM TASKS WE HAVE SET OURSELVES.

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TODAY.

WE SHOULD CLEARLY SEE ALSO THE PLACE OF THE PROJECTED CHANGES IN DEVELOPING SOVIET STATEHOOD AND WEIGH THEM, SO TO SAY, ON THE SCALES OF HISTORY.

THE QUESTION OF POWER IS THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION IN ANY SOCIETY. BUT IT ACQUIRES SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE IN REVOLUTIONARY PERIODS WHEN THE OLD POLITICAL SYSTEM IS BROKEN DOWN AND A NEW ONE IS ESTABLISHED, WHEN THE ORDERS AND RULES BY WHICH SOCIETY WILL HAVE TO LIVE AND DEVELOP FOR A WHOLE HISTORICAL EPOCH ARE INSTITUTED.

ALL POLITICAL ISSUES--THE PLACE AND ROLE OF THE PARTY, OF THE SOVIET STATE, TRADE UNIONS, THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE AND OTHER PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS, THE ORDER OF THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIPS,

PRINCIPLES AND STANDARDS REGULATING THE ACTIVITY OF MANAGERIAL BODIES AND THE PROGRESS OF STATE LIFE, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE CITIZEN--I REPEAT, ALL POLITICAL ISSUES SHOULD BE HANDLED IN CONDITIONS OF SOCIALISM BY TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE PRINCIPAL THING, THAT OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING MAN.

IN THE FIRST POST-OCTOBER (REVOLUTION) PERIOD, TO USE LENIN'S WORDS, "UNITED ALL-STATE SOVIET POWER SEALED BY THE FEDERAL UNION" WAS ESTABLISHED.

CONGRESSES OF SOVIETS AND SESSIONS OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WERE CONVENED ON A REGULAR BASIS, IN WHICH THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES OF THE COUNTRY'S LIFE WERE EXAMINED AND RESOLVED IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF FREE DEBATE.

MILLIONS OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS WERE INVOLVED IN POLITICAL LIFE THROUGH LOCAL SOVIETS AND LEARNED TO RUN THEIR STATE. THE WORK OF THE APPARATUS WAS VIGILANTLY CONTROLLED BY BODIES OF WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTION.

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FBIS 062

TAKE 3 OF MANY -- 060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

///HAVE SET OURSELVES.

LD2911123888

[TEXT] IF WE DO NOT CARRY OUT POLITICAL REFORM TO BACK UP THE PROCESSES THAT ARE NOW UNDERWAY IN THE ECONOMY, THE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY AND THE RECUPERATION IN THE CULTURAL FIELD AND FAIL TO RADICALLY UPDATE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE GOVERNING COUNCILS AND OUR PERSONNEL, THE DRIVE FOR PERESTROIKA WILL INEVITABLY BEGIN TO SKID.

WE HAVE LEARNT OUR LESSONS FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF ABORTIVE PAST ATTEMPTS TO RECTIFY THE STATE OF AFFAIRS If\$3n=hn\*.iU)U9\*2eUC)n).G.Jn)Jz\*,8jJK\* Q9SIVE DEMOCRATIC CHANGE.

POLITICAL REFORM IS A KIND OF OXYGEN NEEDED BY THE PUBLIC ORGANISM.

ITS OBJECTIVE IS THROUGH GREATER DEMOCRACY IN EVERY AREA OF LIFE TO BLEND THE INTERESTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE COLLECTIVE AND OF SOCIETY AT LARGE, AFFIRM IN PRACTICE THE POSITION OF THE WORKING MAN AS HIS OWN MASTER IN BOTH PRODUCTION AND THE STATE, AND PLACE HIM IN THE CENTRE OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

PERESTROIKA HAS LITERALLY BLOWN UP THE ILLUSORY PEACE AND HARMONY WHICH REIGNED SUPREME IN THIS COUNTRY IN THE YEARS OF TORPOR, KICKED OFF BROAD-BASED AND FREE-WHEELING DEBATES AND PUT THE SPOTLIGHT ON MANY URGENT AND EVEN PAINFUL ISSUES.

AND IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE ENORMOUS ENERGY OF THIS SOCIAL PROCESS TO BE APPLIED TO REAL WORK AND WHOLLY DEVOTED TO ACHIEVING TRULY REVOLUTIONARY CONSTRUCTIVE PURPOSES RATHER THAN BEING DISSIPATED, SQUANDERED OR, ALL THE MORE SO, CONVERTED INTO SOCIAL AND ETHNIC STRIFE.

NOW WE'VE COME TO FACE IMMENSE, UPHILL TASKS AND IT IS IMPORTANT NOT TO LOSE HEART BEFORE THEIR DAZZLING NOVELTY AND THE DIVERSITY OF JUDGEMENTS AND EMOTIONS THAT HAVE SURGED FORTH.

ALL THIS HAS BECOME POSSIBLE THANKS TO PERESTROIKA AND SHOULD ASSIST THE CONTINUING PROCESSES OF REVITALIZING OUR SOCIETY.

WE SHOULD UNSWERVINGLY AND CONSISTENTLY MARCH ALONG THE PATH CHARTED BY THE 27TH CONGRESS AND THE 19TH PARTY CONFERENCE AND FORGE DEMOCRATIC TOOLS FOR FREE EXPRESSION AND HARMONISING OF VARIED OPINIONS AND INTERESTS.

EVERYTHING I HAVE SAID, COMRADE DEPUTIES, SERVES TO UNDERLINE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ISSUE BEFORE THE USSR SUPREME [SOVIET--FBIS]

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OF THE WORK TO BE DONE ON IMPLEMENTING DECISIONS OF THE 19TH PARTY CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL REFORM AND TO FIX A RATIONAL ORDER OF PRIORITY FOR HANDLING ITS TASKS.

THE PRINCIPAL CONTENT OF THE FIRST STAGE OF THE REFORM IS STREAMLINING THE STRUCTURE OF SOVIETS, THE ORDER OF THE FORMATION AND THE ACTIVITY OF THE SUPREME BODIES OF POWER AND THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM. THE DRAFT LAWS SUBMITTED FOR DISCUSSION TO THIS SESSION ARE AIMED TO ACHIEVE PRECISELY THAT.

THE NEXT MAJOR STAGE OF POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS WILL BE LINKED WITH THE HARMONISATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNION (USSR) AND ITS CONSTITUENT REPUBLICS.

QUESTIONS OF THE STATUS OF THE UNION REPUBLICS, OF BROADENING THEIR RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES IN POLITICAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND

CULTURAL LIFE AND ON THIS BASIS STRENGTHENING OUR FEDERAL SOCIALIST STATE WILL BE EXAMINED AT THAT STAGE.

THE SAME APPLIES TO AUTONOMOUS ENTITIES: REPUBLICS, REGIONS AND DISTRICTS.

REORGANISING LOCAL GOVERNMENT IS ANOTHER STAGE OF THE REFORM. IT IS NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH THE MATERIAL AND LEGAL PREREQUISITES TO ENABLE THE SOVIETS REALLY TO HANDLE ALL ISSUES OF LOCAL LIFE AND REVIVE THEM AS BODIES OF PEOPLE'S SELF-GOVERNMENT WITH FULL POWER.

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OMOTE PEOPLE  
WITH INITIATIVE AND VIGOUR, PEOPLE CAPABLE OF FULLY USING THE NEW  
POSSIBILITIES OF THE REPRESENTATIVE BODIES.

(MORE)

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FBIS 063

TAKE 4 OF MANY -- 060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

///AND PEASANTS' INSPECTION.

LD2911124788

[TEXT] OF COURSE, FAR FROM EVERYTHING WENT SMOOTHLY IN THE POLITICAL MECHANISM AT THAT EARLY STAGE OF BUILDING SOCIALISM. BUT A FOUNDATION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY WAS BUILT, ITS INSTITUTIONS WERE BEING PERFECTED AND TRADITIONS FORMED.

IT IS NOW CLEAR WHAT IMMENSE COSTS--HUMAN, POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL, AND MORAL AND NOT IN THE LEAST TURN MATERIAL--OU(1u+v\*\*c]8R"Hp:HpI uU OF THE DISRUcUsQu6R::Hp'qUdECEe:UpaLR:rsQgTSINCE POWER, A SYSTEM OF BUREAUCRATIC COMMAND MANAGEMENT. MASS REPRESSIONS AND OTHER VIOLATIONS OF SOCIALIST LEGALITY BECAME WIDESPREAD. THE GRADUAL REMOVAL OF WORKERS FROM REAL PARTICIPATION IN RUNNING STATE AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS, THE GROWING GAP BETWEEN THE OFFICIALLY PROCLAIMED DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND THE PRACTICE OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS, THE SUPPLANTING OF REPRESENTATIVE BODIES BY THE APPARATUS AND ITS INCREASING BUREAUCRATISATION AND ESTRANGEMENT FROM THE MASSES--ALL THAT RESULTED IN THE OSSIFICATION OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

IT STARTED TURNING FROM THE ENGINE OF SOCIETY INTO A BRAKE ON ITS DEVELOPMENT.

HOWEVER, IT WAS UNABLE TO FULLY CONSTRAIN PEOPLE'S ENERGY BORN OF THE GREAT REVOLUTION AND FAITH IN THE IDEALS OF SOCIALISM.

IT IS THANKS TO THE ENERGY, SELFLESS WORK, AND STRUGGLE OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF COMMUNISTS, MILLIONS OF WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND INTELLECTUALS THAT OUR COUNTRY TURNED INTO ONE OF THE MOST DEVELOPED AND INFLUENTIAL STATES IN THE WORLD AND WON THE HARDEST WAR EVER KNOWN IN WORLD HISTORY.

THE DAMAGE CAUSED TO THE CAUSE OF SOCIALISM WAS IMMENSE. AT PRESENT, WE INTEND TO REVIVE THE VALUES OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND PUT INTO LIFE THE REVOLUTION-PROCLAIMED SLOGANS OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY WITH DUE ACCOUNT FOR THE ACCUMULATED ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND INTELLECTUAL POTENTIAL. THE SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCE OF OUR PEOPLE IS A FACTOR OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE.

NATURALLY, REFORMING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A TASK OF EXCEPTIONAL COMPLEXITY THAT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO RESOLVE IN ONE ATTEMPT, SO TO SAY.

IT IS THEREFORE IMPORTANT TO SEE THE ENTIRE AMOUNT AND CHARACTER

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 nU\$U9p\$U\$Qq)A#TLAWS ARE WITHIN POLITICAL GUIDELINES SET BY THE  
 CONFERENCE.

OF COURSE, THE CONFERENCE'S PRINCIPLED POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE  
 ONE THING, AND THEIR TRANSLATION IN DETAIL INTO THE LANGUAGE OF  
 LEGAL FORMULAS IS QUITE ANOTHER. QUITE A NUMBER OF NEW ASPECTS  
 EMERGE IN THIS PROCESS AND, QUITE NATURALLY, BECOME THE SUBJECT OF  
 DISCUSSION.

A MAJORITY OF REMARKS WERE AIMED AT STREAMLINING THE DRAFT LAWS,  
 AT STRENGTHENING THIS OR THAT PROVISION, DEVELOPING AND ENRICHING  
 THE POLITICAL GUIDELINES OF THE CONFERENCE. BUT THERE WERE ALSO  
 REMARKS WHICH QUESTIONED THE CONFORMITY OF THE PUBLISHED DRAFT LAWS  
 AND THE DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, THERE ARE NO GROUNDS  
 FOR SUCH A VIEW. IN ORDER TO SEE THAT, SUFFICE IT TO MENTION THE  
 MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE POLITICAL REFORM CONCEPT SET OUT BY THE  
 CONFERENCE.

(MORE)

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TAKE 5 OF MANY -- 060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

///THE REPRESENTATIVE BODIES.

LD2911130188

[TEXT] WE ARE LAUNCHING, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL REFORM, A PROFOUND RESTRUCTURING OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM AND ARE STARTING TO ADDRESS OURSELVES TO OTHER QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE FORMATION OF A SOCIALIST STATE COMMITTED TO THE RULE OF LAW.

A LOT OF LEGISLATIVE WORK TO FURTHER DEMOCRATISE SOVIET SOCIETY HAS TO BE DONE IN THIS AREA.

II.

NOW ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE NATIONWIDE DISCUSSION OF THE SUBMITTED DRAFT LAWS.

THE EXTRAORDINARY INTEREST THEY EVOKED HAS SHOWN THE EXTENT OF PEOPLE'S INTEREST IN THE CORRECT SOLUTION OF ISSUES OF ORGANISING CENTRAL POWER, HOW DEEPLY THE WORKING PEOPLE ARE AWARE OF THE FACT THAT THE EFFECTIVE FUNCTIONING OF THE UPPER ECHELON OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS RELATED TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL OTHER TASKS OF PERESTROIKA AND THE VERY DESTINY OF THE COUNTRY.

THE CHIEF RESULT OF THE DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT LAWS IS THAT THE VITAL NEED FOR CHANGE IS FINDING EXTENSIVE UNDERSTANDING IN OUR SOCIETY AND THAT THERE IS AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPAL MOMENTS OF THE PROPOSED CONCEPT. THIS IS OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE.

ONE CAN SAY THAT IN GENERAL THE DRAFTS HAVE RECEIVED BROAD SUPPORT, PEOPLE SEE THEM AS A SIGN OF LONG-EXPECTED CHANGES. THE SOVIET PEOPLE APPROVE THE MAIN IDEA OF THE DOCUMENTS, THAT OF STRENGTHENING PEOPLE'S POWER.

THE FACT THAT SUPPORT FOR THE DRAFT LAWS WASQ4)dVE NOT PURMg>ZFORMAL IS OF I P7):KT5\$22JJ

.=9TRARY, THEIR PUBLICATION

GAVE RISE TO AN ACTIVE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, LIVELY DISCUSSIONS, AND A MULTITUDE OF VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS AND AMENDMENTS. JUDGING BY LETTERS THAT HAVE COME IN TO THE PARTY AND STATE BODIES, BY ARTICLES IN THE PRESS, BY STATEMENTS TO MASS MEDIA, AND SPEECHES AT WORKING PEOPLE'S MEETINGS, MILLIONS OF PEOPLE TOOK P!cp:J<1

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TAKE 6 OF MANY -- 060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

///BY THE CONFERENCE.

LD2911131288

[TEXT] THESE ARE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SYSTEM OF CONGRESSES OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES, THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET INTO A PERMANENTLY FUNCTIONING BODY, THE SETTING UP OF A COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE, A RADICAL DEMOCRATISATION OF ELECTIONS, A DIRECT REPRESENTATION OF PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS ON HIGHER BODIES OF POWER. ALL THIS HAS FOUND REFLECTION IN THE DRAFT LAWS.

THE QUESTION OF HOW LONG THE DRAFT LAWS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED WAS ALSO RAISED. A NUMBER OF COMRADES ARGUED THAT THE ONE-MONTH PERIOD WAS NOT ENOUGH TO WORK OUT THE DRAFT LAWS THOROUGHLY. I WOULD LIKE TO SAY, FIRST OF ALL, THAT THE SCOPE AND NATURE OF THE DISCUSSION, ITS OPENNESS AND FULL FREEDOM OF VIEWS GIVE GROUND TO THE BELIEF THAT THE DRAFT LAWS WERE SUBJECTED TO COUNTRYWIDE SCRUTINY.

SECONDLY, I THINK COMRADES DO NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FACT THAT THE MAIN IDEAS INHERENT IN THE DRAFT LAWS WERE ACTIVELY DISCUSSED PRIOR TO AND AT THE CPSU'S CONFERENCE, AND ON THE STRENGTH OF ITS RESULTS. SO, IT IS ALREADY QUITE A LONG TIME THAT WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING THE RANGE OF MATTERS WHICH WE ARE NOW TO DECIDE UPON.

AND, FINALLY, ONE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT TO DELAY THE ADOPTION OF DRAFT LAWS WOULD MEAN IN POINT OF FACT TO SLOW DOWN TRANSFORMATIONS BEING EFFECTED IN ALL SPHERES OF OUR LIFE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PERESTROIKA. THEREBY, THE TAKING OF MEASURES, PROVIDED FOR BY THE SECOND AND SUBSEQUENT STAGES OF THE POLITICAL REFORM, WOULD HAVE TO BE POSTPONED.

I WANT TO MENTION YET ANOTHER IMPORTANT MATTER RAISED DURING THE COUNTRYWIDE DISCUSSION. ALONG WITH MANY SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS ENVISAGING THIS OR THAT AMENDMENT TO THE DRAFT LAWS, MANY PRONOUNCEMENTS WENT BEYOND THE SCOPE OF THE DRAFT LAWS. THIS IS IN GENERAL QUITE UNDERSTANDABLE; PEOPLE'S INTERESTS ARE MUCH WIDER THAN ANY ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK, AND ALL ESSENTIAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE ARE IN THIS OR THAT WAY CONNECTED WITH THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

ISSUES CONCERNING THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM, FOOD SUPPLY, ECOLOGY, THE WORK OF LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES, AND MANY OTHER MATTERS CONCERNING EVERYDAY LIFE AND REQUIREMENTS OF PEOPLE WERE RAISED DURING THE DISCUSSION. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT ALL THESE PROPOSALS SHOULD BE ATTENTIVELY CONSIDERED AND RESOLVED IN PRACTICE. AND THOSE MATTERS WHICH ARE CONNECTED WITH SUBSEQUENT STAGES OF THE POLITICAL REFORM WILL BECOME A GOOD GUIDE IN THE DRAFTING OF APPROPRIATE LEGISLATIVE STATUTES.

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SEPARATE MENTION SHOULD BE MADE OF PRONOUNCEMENTS IN FAVOUR OF BROADER AND FAR-REACHING CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE USSR. THIS APPLIES TO A RADICAL REWORDING OF THE PREAMBLE, A NEW INTERPRETATION OF SOCIALIST PROPERTY, COOPERATIVES, SELF-GOVERNMENT, THE CITIZENS'S RIGHTS, AND OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES.

REALLY, MUCH IN THE CONSTITUTION OF 1977 IS ALREADY IN NEED OF RENEWAL. BUT THIS IS THE DOMAIN OF SUBSEQUENT WORK, FOR WE HAVE JUST EMBARKED UPON THE ROAD OF RADICAL REFORMS OF THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM, SPIRITUAL RENEWAL, AND CONSTANTLY LOOK FOR AND FIND NEW ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEMS BEING TACKLED, AND EVERY NOW AND

THEN WE HAVE TO CORRECT OURSELVES. THIS IS WHY IT IS BEING SUGGESTED THAT ONLY THOSE AMENDMENTS WITHOUT WHICH IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO BEGIN THE FORMATION OF A NEW STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIETS AND TO LAUNCH A POLITICAL REFORM SHOULD BE INTRODUCED TO THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW.

III.

NOW I AM MOVING ON TO AN EVALUATION OF THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE DRAFT LAWS, OF THOSE PRINCIPLED NOVELTIES WHICH ARE TO CREATE NECESSARY LEGAL CONDITIONS FOR THE UNFOLDING OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND PEOPLE'S SELF-GOVERNMENT.

ANALYSING THE CAUSES OF THE DIFFICULTIES AND PROBLEMS WHICH OUR SOCIETY HAS HAD TO ENCOUNTER, WE AGAIN AND AGAIN ARRIVE AT A CONCLUSION THAT THE MAIN OF THEM WERE THE DISTORTION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST STATEHOOD, AND A SHARP SLACKENING OF PEOPLE'S CONTROL OVER THE BODIES OF POWER AND ADMINISTRATION.

(MORE)

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TAKE 7 OF MANY -- 060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

///POWER AND ADMINISTRATION.

LD2911132688

[TEXT] THE TRUE CONTENTS AND IDEA OF THE ACTIVITY OF SOVIETS WERE LARGELY NULLIFIED AS THEY TURNED, IN ACTUAL FACT, FROM THE BODIES OF PEOPLE'S POWER INTO THE LINKS OF THE COMMAND AND BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEM.

TO RESOLUTELY PUT AN END TO THIS SITUATION, TO BREATHE NEW LIFE INTO SOVIETS IS THE MAIN TASK OF THE REFORM WE ARE CURRENTLY CARRYING OUT.

THE MAJOR FEATURES, WHICH DISTINGUISHED SOVIET ORGANIZATION FROM THE BEGINNING, WHICH GIVE IT ITS UNIQUE CHARACTER AND MAKE IT THE OPTIMUM FORM OF THE SOCIALIST STATE SYSTEM AND DEMOCRACY ARE NOT ONLY PRESERVED BUT ALSO EXTENDED.

THIS IS PRIMARILY THE UNITY OF THE ENTIRE SYSTEM OF SOVIETS AS REPRESENTATIVE BODIES OF PEOPLE'S POWER FROM BOTTOM TO TOP.

UNLIKE THE TRADITIONAL STATE SYSTEM, WHERE POLITICAL POWER IS CONCENTRATED IN THE HANDS OF CENTRAL BODIES--PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNMENT--WITH ONLY LIMITED MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION ALLOWED AT LOCAL LEVEL, THE SOVIET STATE IS BASED UPON THE IDEA OF FULL POWER OF THE SOVIETS ON THEIR TERRITORY, EACH SOVIET ACTING AS A CONSTITUENT PART OF SUPREME POWER.

TODAY WE RESTORE THIS PRINCIPLE AND SECURE POWERS FOR ALL REPRESENTATIVE BODIES.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DEMANDS OF THE 19TH CPSU CONFERENCE ALL MAJOR MATTERS OF STATE, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL LIFE WILL BE CONSIDERED AND DECIDED BY THE SOVIETS.

THE SUPREMACY OF THE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM, ITS INTEGRITY AND UNITY ARE SIGNIFICANTLY STRENGTHENED THANKS TO THE INTRODUCTION OF SUCH AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT AS THE CONGRESSES OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES AT NATIONAL AND REPUBLICAN LEVELS.

THIS NOVELTY WAS PRIMARILY DICTATED BY THE NEED TO ENSURE AGAINST ABUSES OF POWER IN THE UPPER STOREYS ON THE STATE BUILDING--A TASK WHICH CAN ONLY BE TACKLED BY A BODY REPRESENTING ALL SOCIAL STRATA AND SHADES OF PUBLIC OPINION, ENJOYING THE INDISPUTABLE AUTHORITY OF THE SUPREME POPULAR FORUM.

THUS THE CONGRESSES OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES REVIVE IN NEW CONDITIONS THE TRADITION OF THE CONGRESSES OF SOVIETS. THEY ARE CALLED UPON TO GUARANTEE WHAT LENIN CALLED "FULL DEMOCRATISM OF THE CENTRE".

THE REALIZATION OF ANOTHER BASIC FEATURE OF THE SOVIETS IS CLOSELY LINKED WITH IT.

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I MEAN THEIR DUAL NATURE AS STATE BODIES AND POPULAR ORGANISATIONS.

IT WAS THIS QUALITY, WHICH WAS UNFORTUNATELY LARGELY LOST, THAT ALLOWED THE SOVIETS TO MAINTAIN THE PERMANENT LIVE LINK WITH THE WORKING PEOPLE, TO BE A FOCUS OF SOCIAL ACTIVITY, TO LINK THE IDEA OF STATEHOOD WITH THAT OF PEOPLE'S SELF-GOVERNMENT.

WE HAVE TO REVIVE THIS ORIGINAL QUALITY OF THE SOVIETS. THE CONGRESSES OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES, WHICH WILL EXPRESS PUBLIC PRINCIPLES FORCEFULLY, WILL PLAY, UNDOUBTEDLY, AN IMPORTANT ROLE HERE.

FINALLY, THE BASIC FEATURE OF SOVIET ORGANISATION CONSISTS IN THE FACT THAT THE REPRESENTATIVE BODIES OF PEOPLE'S POWER UNDER SOCIALISM WERE CONCEIVED AS WORKING CORPORATIONS, USING MARX'S WORDS.

IN THE PAST, THE STATE APPARATUS AND DEPARTMENTS OFTEN DOMINATED THE SOVIETS. DEPUTIES, ESPECIALLY THOSE AT THE TOP, HAD LITTLE EFFECT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DECISIONS, AND THEIR ROLE IN MAKING LAWS WAS OFTEN A FORMALITY.

THE SITUATION SHOULD BE CHANGED DRASTICALLY. BEING A DEPUTY ENTAILS PERMANENT LEGISLATIVE, ADMINISTRATIVE, AND SUPERVISORY WORK.

IN THIS CONNECTION SPECIAL ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO THE FACT THAT THE CONGRESS AS THE SUPREME BODY OF AUTHORITY WILL HAVE THE FINAL SAY IN SOLVING THE MOST IMPORTANT CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS. BESIDES THIS IT HAS THE RIGHT TO RECEIVE FOR CONSIDERATION ANY MATTER OF STATE IS UNDER USSR JURISDICTION. [SENTENCE AS RECEIVED]

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TAKE 8 OF MANY -- 060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

///[SENTENCE AS RECEIVED]

LD2911134188

[TEXT] BUT THE CONGRESS, WHICH WILL CONSIST OF 2,000-ODD DEPUTIES AND CONVEENE, AS A RULE, ONCE A YEAR, WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CONDUCT DAILY LEGISLATIVE, ADMINSTRATIVE AND SUPERVISORY WORK.

THIS FUNCTION WILL BE PERFORMED BY THE PERMANENT SUPREME SOVIET ELECTED FROM AMONG PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES.

IN THE COURSE OF THE NATIONWIDE DISCUSSION MUCH INTEREST WAS SHOWN TO THE NEW ORGANISATION OF CENTRAL POWER. IN PARTICULAR, THE QUESTION AROSE WHETHER IT WAS JUSTIFIED TO RETURN TO CONGRESSES AND TO FORM A NEW SUPREME SOVIET AS A PERMANENTLY ACTING BODY.

I THINK, COMRADES, WE ARE ON THE RIGHT TRACK. WE WILL REVIVE WHAT WAS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE SYSTEM OF SOVIETS, AS LENIN UNDERSTOOD IT, AND PROVED TO BE CORRECT IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE REVOLUTION, ALTHOUGH THE SYSTEM OF SOVIETS FAILED TO FULLY REVEAL ITS HUGE POTENTIALITIES.

IT IS NOT THAT WE WILL SIMPLY RETURN TO THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CONGRESSES OF SOVIETS, THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. WE WERE ACTUALLY LED TO THIS BY THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES.

IN ACTUAL FACT, PRIOR TO EACH SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET SEVERAL HUNDRED DEPUTIES ARE DRAWN INTO THE THOROUGH CONSIDERATION OF ISSUES PUT TO DISCUSSION. THEY ARE ALREADY BEING CALLED UPON FOR PROLONGED PERIODS OF UP TO A MONTH AND MORE.

THE SUPREME SOVIET CANNOT DO A PROPER JOB IF THE ROLE OF THE DEPUTIES IS REDUCED TO VOTING. AND IN FUTURE ITS MEMBERS WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE OVER THE DRAFTING OF LAWS AT EVERY PHASE IN THIS PAINSTAKING PROCESS, NATURALLY ENOUGH, WITH THE INVOLVEMENT OF EXPERTS, ORGANIZATIONS AND STATE AGENCIES AND WITH REGARD FOR PUBLIC OPINION.

THE WAY THE NEW SUPREME SOVIET SHOULD ORGANIZE ITS WORK HAS BEEN DEBATED PRETTY KEENLY AND SOME CONFLICTING OPINIONS HAVE BEEN VOICED.

SOME PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT, IN GENERAL, WE SHOULDN'T COPY A BOURGEOIS PARLIAMENT AND HAVE FULL-TIME DEPUTIES.

OTHERS BELIEVE, ON THE CONTRARY, THAT THE NEW SUPREME SOVIET WILL ONLY BE ABLE TO PERFORM ITS WIDE-RANGING DUTIES IF ALL ITS MEMBERS ARE FREED OF ANY OTHER WORK.

I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US NOW TO DETERMINE A POSITION OF PRINCIPLE, RECOGNIZING IT ESSENTIAL FOR A DEFINITE PORTION OF THE

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MEMBERS OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET AND THE SUPREME SOVIETS OF THE UNION AND AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS TO FULLY CONCENTRATE ON THEIR WORK IN THE BODIES OF POWER.

LET'S DISCUSS WHICH PARTICULAR PORTION IT SHOULD BE.

THIS WILL APPARENTLY BE THE RIGHT THING TO DO ALSO IN RELATION TO THE COMMISSION CHAIRMEN IN THE LOCAL GOVERNING COUNCILS. ON THE WHOLE, THE PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE NEWLY-FOUNDED BODIES OF POWER WILL HAMMER OUT THIS ISSUE IN DETAIL.

NOW LET'S TURN TO THE POWERS OF THE HOUSES OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET. WHILE REMAINING COMPLETELY EQUAL, IN SIZE AND OTHERWISE,

EACH OF THEM WILL ACQUIRE DISTINCTIVE FUNCTIONS IN LINE WITH THEIR NAMES AND MISSIONS.

THIS APPROACH HAS FOUND APPROVAL AND BACKING IN THE COURSE OF THE DEBATES. IF THERE HAS BEEN ANYTHING THAT AROUSED ARGUMENTS, IT HAS PRIMARILY BEEN PROCEDURES FOR ELECTIONS TO THE HOUSES FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE MAIN REQUIREMENT, THAT OF ENSURING A BETTER REPRESENTATION OF THE UNION REPUBLICS IN THE COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES.

I THINK THAT THE NUMBER OF THEIR REPRESENTATIVES COULD BE SOMEWHAT INCREASED AS COMPARED WITH WHAT IS PROPOSED IN THE DRAFT, SAY FROM SEVEN TO ELEVEN MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES FROM EACH UNION REPUBLIC, WHILE PRESERVING THE NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE AUTONOMOUS ENTITIES. THE SIZE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE UNION WOULD BE INCREASED CORRESPONDINGLY AS WELL.

WHEN SPEAKING OF THE NEW FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET AND THE DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET, THE DRAFT SUGGESTS PROCEDURES UNDER WHICH THE PRESIDENT COULD HAVE ENOUGH POWERS TO ORGANIZE THE WORK OF THE SUPREME SOVIET AND ITS PRESIDUM BUT EXCESSIVE CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN ONE PERSON WOULD STILL BE RULED OUT.

IN OTHER WORDS, THE COLLECTIVE WAY OF DECIDING ON KEY STATE PROBLEMS, WHICH IS TYPICAL OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM, WILL BE PRESERVED.

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TAKE 9 OF MANY -- 060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

///WILL BE PRESERVED.

LD2911135988

[TEXT] THIS REMOVES THE REASON FOR CONCERN EXPRESSED BY SOME PARTICIPANTS IN THE DEBATES. IT WOULD BE RIGHT, INCIDENTALLY, TO APPLY THE SAME APPROACH TO THE CHAIRMEN OF ALL THE SOVIETS.

LET ME PROCEED NOW TO SUCH HIGHLY IMPORTANT AN ISSUE AS THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF AUTHORITIES.

ONE CAN SAY IT IS OUR HISTORIC DUTY AT THIS POINT IN REVOLUTIONARY PERESTROIKA TO CREATE ALL THE ESSENTIAL GUARANTEES TO EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY PART OF THE STATE MACHINERY GETTING BEYOND THE CONTROL OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES.

A CAREFUL STUDY OF THE DRAFTS SUBMITTED TO THE SUPREME SOVIET MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO SEE THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF ACCOUNTABILITY PERMEATES THE ENTIRE SYSTEM OF POWER AND ADMINISTRATION.

TO BEGIN WITH, THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES ITSELF IS THE SUPREME CONTROLLING POWER IN THE COUNTRY. IT SHALL PERFORM THIS FUNCTION PRIMARILY BY ELECTING OR ENDORSING HIGHER OFFICIALS--THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME SOVIET, THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT, AND OTHERS.

IT HAS BEEN PROPOSED IN THE COURSE OF THE DEBATES THAT THE CONGRESS BE ABLE TO RECALL ALL THE OFFICIALS ELECTED AND ENDORSED BY IT IF THEY FAIL TO DISCHARGE THEIR DUTIES. THIS HAS BEEN REFLECTED IN THE DRAFT.

THE CONGRESS WILL BE THE CHIEF ARBITER IN THE EVENT OF DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF THE SUPREME SOVIET: THE LAW-MAKERS SHOULD ALSO FORESEE THIS TURN OF EVENTS.

THE CONGRESS WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO VETO LEGISLATIVE ACTS PASSED BY THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET.

SUPERVISORY FUNCTIONS WILL ALSO BE FULLY INHERENT IN THE SUPREME SOVIET ITSELF. THESE WILL INCLUDE BUDGET OVERSEEING, CHECKS ON MINISTRIES AND OTHER STATE AGENCIES, ESPECIALLY FOLLOWING COMPLAINTS ABOUT THEIR PERFORMANCE, AND THE RIGHT OF DEPUTIES TO REQUEST AND RECEIVE EXPLANATIONS FROM GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS.

THIS RIGHT WILL DEFINITELY BE USED REGULARLY IN THE NEW CONDITIONS. A PROPOSAL TO TAKE A MORE EXACTING ATTITUDE TO AGENCIES WHICH HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED BY DEPUTIES DESERVES SUPPORT. REFLECTING OTHER PROPOSALS, THE DRAFT NOW GIVES THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET THE RIGHT TO REPEAL DECREES AND DECISIONS BY ITS PRESIDUM AND ORDERS BY THE SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDENT AND MAKES IT MANDATORY



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FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO REPORT BACK TO THE SUPREME SOVIET--AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE PEOPLE'S CONTROL COMMITTEE WILL BE SERIOUSLY STRENGTHENED. IT WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO INITIATE LEGISLATION AND ITS CHAIRMAN WILL AUTOMATICALLY BECOME A MEMBER OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET. IF NEED BE, THE COMMITTEE WILL BE ABLE TO PUT ISSUES BEFORE THE SUPREME SOVIET AND ITS HOUSES.

IN THIS WAY ALL THE INFLUENCE OF THE HIGHER BODIES OF POWER WILL BE USED TO RESTORE JUSTICE WHERE IT HAS BEEN VIOLATED OR TO PREVENT UNDESIRABLE DEVELOPMENTS.

THE PROPOSAL FOR SETTING UP A COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE HAS BEEN APPROVED IN THE COUNTRY-WIDE DEBATES.

ALL OF US WANT TO SEE IT AS AN AUTHORITATIVE AND, AS IS PERTINENT TO SAY IN THIS CASE, IMPARTIAL ORGAN STANDING GUARD OVER THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS BASIC PRINCIPLES.

DOUBTS HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED OVER WHETHER COMMITTEE MEMBERS SHOULD BE ELECTED FOR TERMS OF TEN YEARS.

I THINK WE SHOULD ENSURE THE MAXIMUM IMMUNITY OF THE COMMITTEE MEMBERS FROM ANY INFLUENCE AND THE LONG TERMS FOR WHICH THEY WILL BE ELECTED WILL PROVIDE AN EXTRA GUARANTEE IN THIS RESPECT.

COMRADES SUGGESTING THAT THE COMMITTEE SHOULD NOT LIMIT ITSELF TO ANALYZING THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF NEWLY-ENACTED LAWS APPEAR TO BE RIGHT.

IT CAN ALSO INITIATE LAWS WHOSE ABSENCE PREVENTS THE REALIZATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS.

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Tue Nov 29 10:07:47 1988

///OF CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS.

LD2911140588

[TEXT] ONE MAY SAY, COMRADES, THAT OUR OWN, SOCIALIST SYSTEM OF "CHECKS AND BALANCES" IS TAKING SHAPE IN THIS COUNTRY, DESIGNED TO PROTECT SOCIETY AGAINST ANY VIOLATIONS OF SOCIALIST LEGALITY AT THE HIGHEST STATE LEVEL.

IV.

COMRADE DEPUTIES.

IT WAS NOTED AT THE 19TH CPSU CONFERENCE THAT MUCH IN THE STRUCTURE AND THE ORGANISATION OF WORK OF THE SUPREME BODY OF POWER IN THE USSR IS ALSO ACCEPTABLE FOR THE SUPREME BODIES OF POWER IN THE REPUBLICS AND WILL FACILITATE THE ENHANCEMENT OF THEIR ROLE AND AUTHORITY

WE HAVE A UNIFORM SYSTEM OF SOVIETS. THIS UNIFORMITY HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED HISTORICALLY, IT CREATES NECESSARY POLITICAL AND ORGANISATIONAL PREREQUISITES FOR THE ADJUSTED OPERATION OF THE ENTIRE STATE MECHANISM OF OUR FEDERATION.

A SPECIFIC SOLUTION OF ISSUES OF THE SET-UP OF THE TOP REPUBLICAN BODIES OF POWER SHOULD MAKE UP, AS ALREADY MENTIONED, THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE NEXT, SECOND STAGE OF THE POLITICAL REFORM.

BUT BECAUSE SERIOUS OBJECTIONS WERE EXPRESSED IN THE DISCUSSION ON INDIVIDUAL CLAUSES SETTING OUT THE POWERS OF THE UNION BODIES, WE ARE NOW OBLIGED TO DEFINE OUR STAND ON THIS ISSUE.

A VIEW WAS EXPRESSED THAT THE DRAFT LAW ON CHANGES AND AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION CONTAINS A TENDENCY TOWARDS EXCESSIVE CENTRALISATION AND THUS DEPARTED FROM THE POLITICAL DIRECTIVES OF THE 19TH PARTY CONFERENCE. I SHOULD SAY THAT THIS IS AN OBVIOUS MISUNDERSTANDING.

I THINK THAT IT IS CLEAR TO US ALL NOW THAT THE QUESTION OF THE CORRELATION OF THE UNION AND THE REPUBLICS SHOULD BE HANDLED WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF PERESTROIKA, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DEMOCRATISATION OF OUR SOCIETY.

THE RATIONAL ALLOCATION OF POWERS BETWEEN THE UNION AND REPUBLICAN BODIES OF POWER IS A MAJOR CONDITION FOR THE STRENGTH OF OUR MULTINATIONAL STATE AND, SPEAKING IN BROADER TERMS, OF THE ENTIRE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

THE UNIFICATION OF THEIR EFFORTS FOR UNIVERSAL INTERESTS HOLDS GREAT OPPORTUNITIES FOR OUR GROWTH AND THE ENHANCED WELL-BEING OF ALL PEOPLES OF THE COUNTRY.

THEREFORE ALL REPUBLICS ARE VITALLY INTERESTED IN A POWERFUL CENTRE CAPABLE OF ENSURING THE SOLUTION OF NATIONAL TASKS.

ONE SHOULD STATE WITH EQUAL CERTAINTY THAT THE STRENGTH OF THE UNION MUST RELY ON THE STRENGTH OF ITS CONSTITUENT REPUBLICS AS A

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SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST STATES, ON THEIR INDEPENDENCE, INITIATIVE AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN COMMON AFFAIRS.

THE SUCCESS OF EACH REPUBLIC IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PREREQUISITE FOR THE SUCCESS OF OUR ENTIRE FEDERAL STATE.

THIS MEANS THAT FOR US, AS EMPHASISED AT THE PARTY CONFERENCE, IT IS IMPORTANT TO ALTER THE STATUS OF THE UNION REPUBLICS WITH DUE ACCOUNT FOR THE NEW TASKS, ENDORSE THEIR RIGHTS IN THE USSR CONSTITUTION AND GUARANTEE THESE RIGHTS IN REAL WAY.

THE AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION WERE FORMED EXACTLY ALONG THESE LINES.

OBVIOUSLY, AND WE KNOW THAT NOW, SOME PROVISIONS IN THE DRAFT LAWS WERE FORMULATED IMPRECISELY AND PROVOKED QUITE A FEW CRITICAL REMARKS IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSION.

AFTER STUDYING THEM THOROUGHLY AT THE COMMISSIONS FOR LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET IT WAS FOUND NECESSARY TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT A NUMBER OF REMARKS AND INTRODUCE RATHER SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES TO THE DRAFT AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

THEY ARE RELATED TO THE SPECIFICATION OF THE PROVISIONS VIEWED AS LIMITING THE RIGHTS OF THE UNION REPUBLICS IN MATTERS OF LEGISLATION, DETERMINATION OF THE SET-UP AND MAIN DIRECTIONS IN THE ACTIVITY OF THE REPUBLIC BODIES, THEIR COMPETENCE IN THE FIELD OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

ALSO, ADOPTED WERE THE PROPOSALS THAT THE COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL COMPLIANCE INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF !/XUØ.HLUW'g% M, '+&)UE(H9Q\*HpsQ'qsQgT:

\$U9Q\$t)6\*UvnTt] '5(+!RQsQSOVIET AT ITS SESSION ON NOVEMBER 26 THIS YEAR BACKED 1 ESE

CHANGES. ALL THAT WAS APPROVED AT THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE YESTERDAY.

THE ENTIRE RANGE OF ISSUES CONNECTED WITH THE STATUS OF THE REPUBLICS AND THE EXPANSION OF THEIR RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES ARE EXPECTED, AS IS KNOWN, TO BE EXAMINED AT A PLENARY MEETING OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON ISSUES OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS.

THE RECENT ADOPTED CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON THIS ISSUE ENVISAGES THOROUGH PREPARATORY WORK WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF UNION AND REPUBLIC PARTY AND STATE BODIES, SCIENTISTS, EXPERTS AND MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

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TAKE 11 OF MANY -- 060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

///THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

LD2911141088

[TEXT] IN PREPARING FOR THE PLENUM, NOT A SINGLE ISSUE RAISED IN THE DISCUSSION OF THE DRAFT LAWS WE ARE NOW CONSIDERING SHOULD BE),L@u%a2J8E HKEw\*B/E TO EMPHASIZE, COMR;\WF20('\*JJ\$. \jJ.\*\*T: 9\$ MATTER WHETHER THEY ARE RELATED TO ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND LEGAL OR CULTURAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE PRESENT TIME OR ARE RELATED TO UNCERTAINTIES AND "BLANK SPACES" IN THE HISTORICAL PAST, I REPEAT, ALL THESE PROBLEMS SHOULD FIND A FAIR SOLUTION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PERESTROIKA THROUGH METHODS OF DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION AND THE ELABORATION OF COORDINATED COMMON POSITIONS.

IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT TO FIND AN OPTIMAL CORRELATION OF THE COMPETENCE OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE INDIVIDUAL UNION REPUBLICS IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE. THIS TASK IS DIFFICULT AND IS DIVERSE IN CHARACTER.

A SINGLE NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMPLEX HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED IN OUR COUNTRY. THE REQUIREMENTS OF ALL REPUBLICS FOR RAW MATERIAL AND FUEL, MACHINES AND INSTRUMENTS, FOOD AND CONSUMER GOODS ARE MET WITHIN ITS FRAMEWORK.

EVERYTHING IN THE SOVIET ECONOMY IS SO INTERRELATED, SO INTERDEPENDENT THAT THE STOPPING OF ONE OR TWO ENTERPRISES LEADS TO A WHOLE CHAIN OF DISRUPTIONS IN PRODUCTION AND CAUSES HUGE LOSSES TO THE ENTIRE NATIONAL ECONOMY.

THE QUESTION OF INTRODUCING REPUBLICAN COST-ACCOUNTANCY SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH CONSIDERATION FOR ALL THAT. MANY PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD IN THIS CONNECTION ARE UNDENIABLE, THEY FIT INTO THE OVERALL CONCEPT OF RADICAL ECONOMIC REFORM. THIS IS RELATED, BY THE WAY, NOT ONLY TO REPUBLICS, BUT ALSO TO TERRITORIES, REGIONS AND OTHER TERRITORIAL ENTITIES.

AT THE SAME TIME, ONE CANNOT AGREE TO THE SUGGESTIONS TO GIVE UP THE UNIFORMITY OF THE LEGISLATIVE REGULATION OF RELATIONS OF OWNERSHIP, THE BUDGETARY FINANCIAL SYSTEM AND SOME OTHER KEY ISSUES OF THE LIFE OF OUR SOCIETY.

AND I REPEAT THAT SENTIMENTS AND WISHES IN FAVOUR OF EXTENDING THE RIGHTS OF THE REPUBLICS IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD ARE QUITE JUSTIFIED AND LEGITIMATE. SUCH A TASK HAS LONG BEEN RIPE.

IT FULLY ACCORDS WITH THE CONCEPT OF PERESTROIKA. WE HAVE ALREADY REPEATEDLY AND MOST RESOLUTELY CONDEMNED OVERCENTRALISM

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WHICH USED TO PARALYSE LOCAL INITIATIVE.

IT WAS ABSURD WHEN THE STAFF OF MOSCOW OFFICES USED TO DECIDE ON SPECIFIC MATTERS CONNECTED WITH THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE REPUBLICS WHICH, AS QUITE OFTEN WAS THE CASE, THEY HAD NOT EVEN VISITED.

BUT ONE SHOULD NOT GO TO THE OPPOSITE EXTREME. COMMON LEGISLATIVE GROUNDS ARE NEEDED TO ENSURE REPUBLICAN AND LOCAL COST-ACCOUNTING. IT IS NECESSARY THAT FEDERAL AND REPUBLICAN BODIES TAKE, AT LEAST, AN IDENTICAL VIEW OF COST ACCOUNTING.

ONLY IN THAT CASE WILL COST ACCOUNTING RELY ON A SINGLE SYSTEM OF SETTLEMENTS AND CREATE CONDITIONS AND POSSIBILITIES EQUAL FOR ALL

REPUBLICS.

THE SAME APPLIES TO ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION. THE REPUBLICS BOTH HAVE A RIGHT TO AND SHOULD INDEPENDENTLY TACKLE APPROPRIATE MATTERS ON THEIR TERRITORIES. BUT THIS SPHERE JUST CANNOT BE LEFT OUTSIDE REGULATION BY FEDERAL BODIES EITHER.

AND HOW CAN IT BE OTHERWISE IF ECOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN OUR DAYS CALL FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION, AND NOT ONLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES BUT ALSO CONTINENTS AND EVEN THE WORLD AS A WHOLE.

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TAKE 12 OF MANY -- 060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

///AS A WHOLE.

LD2911142688

[TEXT] COUNTRIES NOW VOLUNTARILY DELEGATE PART OF THEIR RIGHTS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ON THEIR BEHALF INTRODUCE RATIONAL NORMS OF THE UTILISATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES.

IN SHORT, IT IS ESSENTIILb gUGHLy TO SCRM Xe\*\*LHTS  
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\$R)\$U8:H:u\T:UQbKig'hA)TICULAR, THAT WE RETURN TO THE PRACTICE OF THE FIRST POST-REVOLUTION YEARS WHEN NATIONAL DISTRICTS AND RURAL COUNCILS EXISTED IN PLACES INHABITED MOSTLY BY NATIONAL MINORITIES. THIS IS WHAT WE SPOKE OF AT THE CONFERENCE AS WELL.

I BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE IN REPUBLICS AND REGIONS WILL REFLECT ON THIS ISSUE AND WILL EXPRESS THEIR CONSIDERATIONS.

IN GENERAL, COMRADES DEPUTIES, IT WOULD BE APPARENTLY THE RIGHT THING TO INSTRUCT THE PRESIDUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET AND THE COMMISSIONS FOR THE LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS OF THE CHAMBERS TO SET UP A SPECIAL WORKING GROUP CONSISTING OF DEPUTIES REPRESENTING ALL UNION REPUBLICS.

SUCH A GROUP WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF SPECIALISTS--ECONOMISTS, SOCIOLOGISTS, AND LAWYERS--COULD SCRUTINISE POINT AFTER POINT THE ENTIRE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POWERS OF THE UNION AND OF THE REPUBLICS, ANALYSE THE PROCESSES TAKING PLACE IN THIS SPHERE, AND TO WORK OUT SUCH A DELIMITATION OF COMPETENCE OF REPUBLICS AND THE SOVIET FEDERATION AS A WHOLE WHICH WOULD CORRESPOND TO THE UTMOST TO THE TASKS OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY AND HARMONISATION OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE CURRENT RESTRUCTURING OF SOVIET SOCIETY.

A CARDINAL RENEWAL OF THE WORK OF THE LOCAL SOVIETS IS ONE OF MAJOR TASKS OF THE POLITICAL REFORM THAT IS NOW UNDERWAY.

THIS IS NOW IN MANY RESPECTS THE PRINCIPAL FACTOR DETERMINING THE ENTIRE SUBSEQUENT COURSE OF PERESTROIKA, SINCE COST ACCOUNTING OF ENTERPRISES AND SATISFACTION OF THE SOCIAL NEEDS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE ARE POSSIBLE ONLY WITH ACTIVE SUPPORT OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

IN ITS TURN, SELF-MANAGEMENT AT THE LEVEL OF WORK COLLECTIVES IS CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH TERRITORIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

IN SHORT, EVERYONE NEEDS AN EFFICIENT COUNCIL, AND ALLOW ME TO

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USE THE EXPRESSION, A WELL-OFF ONE. SO FAR THEY STILL REMAIN WITHOUT ADEQUATE RIGHTS AND, IN MANY RESPECTS, POOR. THEY ARE INCAPABLE OF HOLDING OUT AGAINST VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS, AND HAVE TO EXIST ON THE MEAGRE ALLOCATIONS PROVIDED AS A RESULT OF RESIDUAL PLANNING OF FUNDS FOR LOCAL NEEDS.

THE REVIVAL OF THE ABSOLUTE POWER OF THE SOVIETS PRESUPPOSES THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MANAGEMENT OF LOCAL AFFAIRS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, SELF-FINANCING, SELF-PROVISION, AND COORDINATION OF LOCAL WITH FEDERAL INTERESTS.

LOCAL BODIES OF POWER SHOULD BE GIVEN A POLITICAL IMPULSE, SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO WORK INDEPENDENTLY WITH THE FIRM REALISATION THAT

NO ONE WILL TACKLE MATTERS FOR THEM ANY LONGER.

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TASKS OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF PERESTROIKA IS IN EVERY WAY TO HELP STRENGTHEN THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE LOCAL COUNCILS.

THE WISDOM OF POLITICAL GUIDANCE IS TO ENLIST THE EFFORTS OF ALL FORCES OF SOCIETY FOR ACTIVE WORK, TO RELY ON THEIR INITIATIVE AND INDEPENDENCE, AND TO ACT NOT BY DECREE BUT THROUGH THE PRESTIGE OF THE RIGHT POLICY AND METHODS OF PERSUASION. THE PARTY COMMITTEES ARE BEGINNING TO MASTER THESE SKILLS.

I WANT TO EMPHASIZE ONCE AGAIN WHAT WAS SPOKEN OF AT THE 19TH CONFERENCE OF THE CPSU. THE RESTORATION OF THE ABSOLUTE POWER OF THE SOVIETS BY NO MEANS SIGNIFIES THE PARTY'S RETREAT FROM ITS PLACE IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM.

THE PARTY HAS COME FORWARD WITH THE IDEA OF PERESTROIKA, IS NOW THE MOTIVE FORCE OF RENEWAL, AND IS ITSELF BEING RENEWED ON LENINIST PRINCIPLES.

ONLY THE PARTY WITH ITS PRESTIGE AND POSSIBILITIES CAN PERFORM THE UNIFYING ROLE AND INTEGRATE DIVERSE AND AT TIMES CONTRADICTORY SOCIAL INTERESTS INTO A SINGLE POLICY.

ONLY THE PARTY WHICH HAS REGAINED THE CHARACTER OF THE PROGRESSIVE REVOLUTIONARY FORCE AND WHICH CONTINUOUSLY REAFFIRMS ITS RIGHT TO BE IN THE VANGUARD OF SOCIETY CAN ENSURE OUR COUNTRY'S PROGRESS.

A CLEAR-CUT SEPARATION OF FUNCTIONS OF THE PARTY AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODIES IS ESSENTIAL PRECISELY FOR BOTH THE PARTY AND THE COUNCILS TO BE ABLE TO EFFECTIVELY PERFORM THEIR ROLE IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM. WORK IN THIS DIRECTION HAS BEEN STARTED.

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///HAS BEEN STARTED.

LD2911151088

[TEXT] OVER THE COMPARATIVELY SHORT PERIOD OF TIME THAT HAS PASSED SINCE THE CONFERENCE, MEASURES HAVE BEEN ELABORATED TO STOP THE DUPLICATION OF STATE FUNCTIONS BY PARTY BODIES, TO REORGANIZE THE APPARATUS AND TO SWITCH THE MAIN ATTENTION OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AT ALL LEVELS OVER TO THE DISCHARGE OF THE FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL GUIDANCE. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE MEASURES HAS STARTED.

THE ENHANCEMENT OF THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL COUNCILS ALSO PRESUPPOSES A CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENT OF THE WORK OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES. IT IS WITH GOOD REASON THAT WE CAME FORWARD WITH THE DEMAND FOR AN END TO THE DIKTAT OF THE APPARATUS AND ITS ABSOLUTE SUBORDINATION TO PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES.

BUT THIS, OF COURSE, DOES NOT MEAN THAT SPECIALISTS WHO WORK IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SHOULD PLAY THE ROLE OF PASSIVE AND INDIFFERENT PERFORMERS OF MISSIONS. NOT AT ALL.

AN EFFICIENT LOCAL COUNCIL IS INTERESTED IN ENSURING THAT WELL-SELECTED, QUALIFIED PEOPLE WITH INITIATIVE HELP IT IMPLEMENT DECISIONS.

A TASK WHICH IS CENTRAL TO THE STRENGTHENING OF THE POWER OF THE SOVIETS IS TO CREATE A SOLID MATERIAL-AND-FINANCIAL BASIS, TO RELEASE THEIR ECONOMIC ENERGIES, AND TO RAISE THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROVIDING THE POPULATION WITH ALL ESSENTIALS.

IT IS NECESSARY TO GET OUT OF THE VICIOUS CIRCLE WHERE ATTEMPTS ARE MADE TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM OF FINANCIAL PROVISION OF THE COUNCIL THROUGH A MECHANICAL REDISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS BETWEEN VARIOUS BUDGETS.

THIS, EXPERIENCE HAS DEMONSTRATED, CAN LEAD TO NOTHING AND ONLY WORSENS THE ALREADY DIFFICULT FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE STATE.

A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM IS ONLY AVAILABLE THROUGH ECONOMIC CHANGES. IT APPEARS ESSENTIAL TO TURN OVER TO THE SOVIETS ADMINISTRATIVE POWER OVER ENTERPRISES SPECIALIZING IN PRODUCTS AND SERVICES FOR THE LOCAL MARKET, AGRO-INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS, UTILITIES AND OTHER SOCIAL-SERVICE FACILITIES AND OVER ENTERPRISES PROVIDING THE GENERAL ECONOMIC PREREQUISITES FOR LOCAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE TRANSITION TO TERRITORIAL SELF-FINANCING, THE PRINCIPLES OF PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNTING AND ECONOMICALLY SUBSTANTIATED NORMS

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SHOULD BE EXPEDITED. ECONOMISTS THINK IT POSSIBLE TO SET RATES OF PAYMENT ALSO FOR NATURAL AND MANPOWER RESOURCES.

MANY INTERESTING PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE SOVIETS' MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL POSSIBILITIES HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE COURSE OF DEBATES ON THE BILLS PRESENTED TO THIS SESSION. ALL OF THESE IDEAS NEED TO BE STUDIED CAREFULLY AND IMPARTIALLY.

I WANT TO MAKE SPECIAL MENTION OF THE NEED TO ENERGETICALLY CLEAR THE WAY TO LOCAL SELF-ADMINISTRATION AS THE TOTALITY OF ALL FORMS OF REPRESENTATIVE AND DIRECT DEMOCRACY UNDER THE AEGIS OF LOCAL GOVERNING COUNCILS.

LET REFERENDUMS, ASSEMBLIES AND MEETINGS BE HELD WHEREBY PEOPLE WILL JOINTLY RESOLVE PROBLEMS THAT WORRY THEM.

MASS MOVEMENTS AND SELF-ORGANIZED GROUPS AT GRASSROOTS LEVEL ARE ALREADY ACTIVE SHOWING CONCERN FOR CHILDREN AND THE DISABLED, PROTECTING NATURE AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS AND SPRUCING UP THEIR LOCALITIES.

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///UP THEIR LOCALITIES.

LD2911154188

[TEXT] [DUE TO APPARENT INTERRUPTION OF SEQUENTIAL NUMBERING OF TASS TRANSMISSION AT THIS POINT, PORTION OF SPEECH APPEARS TO BE MISSING--FBIS] A POSSIBILITY OF A REAL CHOICE IS THUS BEING PROVIDED. THE MATTER OF OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE TODAY IS HOW IT WILL BE USED TO CREATE A FULL-BLOODED CORPS OF DEPUTIES CAPABLE OF RUNNING THE COUNTRY AT THE TIME OF PERESTROIKA.

MAXIMUM USE SHOULD BE MADE OF EXISTING POSSIBILITIES TO GIVE EVERY VTER KNOWLEDGE OF THE CANDIDATES. TRY AS THEY WILL, THEY CAN'T MAKE SURE THAT EVERYBODY WILL COME TO MEET-THE-CANDIDATE RALLIES.

SO A BIG ROLE IS TO BE PLAYED HERE BY RADIO, TELEVISION AND THE PRESS. AND INDEED CAN THERE BE ANYTHING MORE REVEALING THAN PUBLIC DEBATES IN WHICH THE CANDIDATES PARRY QUESTIONS, PUT FORTH THEIR VIEWS AND, IF YOU LIKE, SHOW THEIR WORTH?

MANY PEOPLE TAKING PART IN THE DEBATES HAVE COME OUT FOR AN AMENDMENT UNDER WHICH ELECTIONS MAY ONLY TAKE PLACE IF THERE ARE AT LEAST TWO CANDIDATES PER CONTESTED OFFICE.

NUMEROUS OTHERS, HOWEVER, HAVE EXPRESSED THEMSELVES AGAINST LIMITING THE RIGHT OF VOTERS TO DECIDE ON THE NUMBER OF CANDIDATES THEMSELVES.

CONSIDERING THIS, THE DRAFT LAW HAS BEEN CLARIFIED TO SAY THAT THE BALLOT CAN CARRY ANY NUMBER OF CANDIDATES.

UNDERSTANDABLY ENOUGH, THERE MAY ARISE COMPLICATIONS. EVERY COLLECTIVE WILL BE SEEKING TO PROMOTE ITS OWN REPRESENTATIVES AND IF PROCEDURES FOR REGULATING THIS PROCESS ARE NOT FORESEEN, WE RISK ENDING UP HAVING A MUDDLE RATHER THAN A CONSCIOUS CHOICE.

THIS IS WHY THE DRAFT CALLS FOR ADVANCE DISCUSSION OF CANDIDATES AT A CONSTITUENCY'S PRE-ELECTION MEETING WHICH WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO NOMINATE CANDIDATES FOR REGISTRATION WITH THE CORRESPONDING ELECTORAL COMMISSION.

WE SHALL APPARENTLY NOT BE ABLE TO DO WITHOUT THIS IN OUR ELECTION SYSTEM.

THE GREATEST DIVERSITY OF OPINIONS HAS BEEN PROVOKED BY THE DRAFT'S PROVISION, INCLUDED THERE IN KEEPING WITH THE DECISIONS OF THE 19TH CONFERENCE, ON THE ELECTION OF ONE-THIRD OF THE PEOPLE'S

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DEPUTIES OF THE USSR FROM MASS ORGANIZATIONS.

SOME PEOPLE HAVE HAILED IT WITH GREAT ENTHUSIASM, WHILE OTHERS HAVE EXPRESSED DOUBTS AND STILL OTHERS HAVE EVEN PERCEIVED IT AS A DEPARTURE FROM THE GENERAL DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES OF THE ELECTION SYSTEM.

THIS IS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE. THE PROVISION IS A MAJOR INNOVATION IN OUR POLITICAL LIFE AND IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE ACCEPT IT CONSCIOUSLY, SHOWING A HIGH DEGREE OF PUBLIC ACCORD. I SHALL THEREFORE DWELL ON IT IN GREATER DETAIL.

IT IS IMPERATIVE TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE FACT THAT THE REPRESENTATION OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE BODIES OF POWER IS INEXTRICABLY LINKED WITH THE REVIVAL OF LENIN'S TRADITIONS OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM IN NEW CONDITIONS.

WHAT WAS THE MAIN DISTINCTIVE FEATURE OF THAT SYSTEM,

DISTINGUISHING IT FROM ALL PREVIOUS FORMS OF STATE AUTHORITY?

IT CONSISTED IN DIRECT AND CONTINUOUS CONTACT WITH WORKING PEOPLE. THE SOVIETS AND THEIR CONGRESSES WORKED AS BROAD-BASED POPULAR ASSEMBLIES RATHER THAN ORGANS TAKING DECISIONS ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE.

THIS FEATURE HAS, ALAS, LARGELY BEEN LOST. BUT THE SITUATION IS CHANGING DRAMATICALLY THANKS, ON THE ONE HAND, TO THE RESTORATION OF THE TRULY DEMOCRATIC NATURE OF ELECTIONS IN TERRITORIAL AND NATIONAL-TERRITORIAL DISTRICTS AND, ON THE OTHER, TO COMPLEMENTARY ELECTIONS IN MASS ORGANIZATIONS.

HOW DOES THE LATTER MEASURE HELP?

FIRST, WORKING PEOPLE THROUGH THEIR MASS ORGANIZATIONS WILL GET YET ANOTHER CHANNEL FOR DIRECTLY INFLUENCING THE BODIES OF STATE POWER. IN OTHER WORDS, THE UNIQUE TRAIT OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM IS BEING RESTORED IN NEW CONDITIONS AND IN A NEW WAY.

SECOND, THE PROPOSED INNOVATION SUBSTANTIALLY ENRICHES THE TRADITIONAL DEMOCRATIC FORMS THAT HAVE STRUCK ROOT IN OUR CONDITIONS RATHER THAN ABOLISHING THEM.

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TAKE 15 OF 19 -- 060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

///THAN ABOLISHING THEM.

LD2911154388

[TEXT] REPRESENTATION OF PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS OPENS UP, SO TO SAY, ONE MORE CHANNEL OF PEOPLE'S POWER ALONGSIDE REPRESENTATION OF TERRITORIAL AND NATIONAL COMMUNITIES. IT PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE FULLER ACCOUNT OF THE CONCRETE INTERESTS, ASPIRATIONS, AND REQUIREMENTS OF ALL CLASSES AND SOCIAL STRATA OF OUR SOCIETY. THIS, IF YOU WISH, REPRESENTS SOCIALIST PLURALISM OF VIEWS IN ACTION.

AND, THIRDLY, THE NEW PROCEDURE CAN EXERT A FAVOURABLE INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS THEMSELVES, AS THEY ARE LINKS OF THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM, TO HELP THEM OVERCOME THEIR PASSIVENESS. INVESTED WITH THE RIGHT TO BE REPRESENTED ON BODIES OF POWER, EACH OF THEM WILL BE BOUND TO EXPRESS CLEARLY THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE IT UNITES, TO PUT FORWARD ITS POLITICAL PLATFORM. THE LATTER'S DISCUSSION WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION PROPER AND IN SOCIETY AS A WHOLE WILL HELP BRING OUT THE EXISTING SHORTCOMINGS, TO CONSOLIDATE OUR RANKS. NEW MEN WILL BE PROMOTED IN THE COURSE OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND THE RANK-AND-FILE WILL GROW MORE ACTIVE.

IN SHORT, WE CAN EXPECT THIS TO INFUSE FRESH BLOOD INTO THE SOVIETS, INTO THE PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS THEMSELVES.

NOW LET US CONSIDER THE DOUBTS EXPRESSED DURING THE DISCUSSION. [DUE TO APPARENT INTERRUPTION OF SEQUENTIAL NUMBERING OF TASS TRANSMISSION AT THIS POINT, PORTION OF SPEECH APPEARS TO BE MISSING -- FBIS]

FURTHERMORE, QUITE A NUMBER OF THOSE WHO TOOK PART IN THE DISCUSSION, WHILE APPROVING THE VERY PRINCIPLE OF THE REPRESENTATION OF PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS, THOUGHT THAT THE PROJECTED ELECTORAL PROCEDURE WAS UNDEMOCRATIC. THEY HOLD THAT IT SHOULD START DIRECTLY IN GRASSROOT ORGANISATIONS OR EVEN ELECTORAL DISTRICTS, OTHERWISE THE ENTIRE PROCEDURE WOULD BE BUREAUCRATISED AND REDUCED MERELY TO AN APPOINTMENT OF DEPUTIES FROM AMONG LEADERS OF THIS OR THAT PUBLIC ORGANISATION. I WISH TO NOTE THAT SIMILAR APPREHENSIONS WERE EXPRESSED AT THE EARLY STAGES OF WORK ON THE DRAFT LAWS. THIS IS PRECISELY WHY THE PROPOSAL TO NOMINATE CANDIDATES AND HOLD ELECTIONS AT THE VERY SAME MEETINGS OF CONGRESSES, CONFERENCES, OR

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PLENUMS OF PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS WAS TURNED DOWN. IN THIS CASE IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE, INDEED, TO GUARANTEE A THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF THE CANDIDATURES.

ONE MORE POINT WAS MADE CLEAR IN THE DISCUSSION, NAMELY THAT IN NOMINATING CANDIDATES THE ALL-UNION BODIES SHOULD TAKE DUE ACCOUNT OF THE PROPOSALS MADE BY LOCAL BODIES, GRASSROOT COLLECTIVES, AND THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS IN QUESTION.

IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND THAT THE NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES WILL BE FOLLOWED BY A SUFFICIENTLY LONG PUBLIC DISCUSSION, LASTING, LET US SAY, ONE OR TWO MONTHS.

NOT ONLY MEMBERS OF A GIVEN ORGANISATION, BUT OTHER CITIZENS TOO, WILL BE ABLE TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS IN THE COURSE OF THE DEBATE. AND ONLY AFTER ALL THAT WILL THE DEPUTIES BE ELECTED BY SECRET BALLOT AT THE ORGANISATION'S CONGRESS OR REGULAR PLENUM.

IN SHORT, EVERYTHING WILL BE KEPT IN THE PUBLIC EYE. THIS MEANS THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF ELECTING PERSONS LACKING SUFFICIENT POPULAR

SUPPORT WILL BE REDUCED TO THE MINIMUM.

THESE ARE THE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE PROPOSED REPRESENTATION OF PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS IN BODIES OF POWER. ITS ACCEPTANCE WILL, IT APPEARS, SIGNIFY A SERIOUS BREAKTHROUGH TO A NEW QUALITATIVE LEVEL OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.

THIS BUSINESS IS QUITE UNUSUAL FOR US, OF COURSE. IT HAS NO EQUAL IN WORLD PRACTICE AS REGARDS ITS SCOPE AND CHARACTER. LET'S EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THIS SCORE ONCE AGAIN AT THIS SESSION, BEARING IN MIND THAT PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE IS BOUND TO NECESSITATE CERTAIN AMENDMENTS TO THE ELECTORAL PROCEDURE.

THE NEW LEGISLATION MUST PROVE ITS WORTH IN PRACTICE. IF WE SEE THAT IT NEEDS AMENDMENT, THIS WILL BE DONE RIGHT AWAY, OF COURSE. THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO START THE BALL ROLLING TODAY.

SOME PARTICIPANTS IN THE DISCUSSION HAVE EXPRESSED FEARS THAT DEPUTIES ELECTED FROM PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS MIGHT UPHOLD ONLY THE NARROW, OR CORPORATE INTERESTS OF THEIR OWN ORGANISATIONS.

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-TAKE 16 OF 19--060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

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///THEIR OWN ORGANIZATIONS.

LD2911154588

[TEXT] IN THIS CASE ANY DEPUTY CAN BE FOUND WANTING, BECAUSE HE MUST EXPRESS THE WILL OF THOSE WHO ELECTED HIM TO THE BODY OF AUTHORITY.

IN OTHER WORDS, REPRESENTING CERTAIN GROUPS OF THE POPULATION AND DEFENDING THEIR SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS IS QUITE NATURAL AND LEGAL. WITHOUT THIS THE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM WOULD LOSE ANY SENSE.

BUT THIS IS ONLY ONE SIDE OF THE MATTER. THE OTHER, NO LESS IMPORTANT, IS THAT EACH DEPUTY TAKES PART IN SOLVING MATTERS OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE AND, CONSEQUENTLY, BEARS RESPONSIBILITY NOT SO MUCH BEFORE HIS OR HER ELECTORS AS BEFORE THE PEOPLE AT LARGE.

NO MATTER WHAT HE REPRESENTS -- A REPUBLIC, TRADE UNIONS, TERRITORIAL DISTRICT OR A CREATIVE UNION -- HE IS A PEOPLE'S DEPUTY AND HE ACTS IN THE BODY OF AUTHORITY NOT SIMPLY AS A WORKER, FARMER OR SCIENTIST BUT AS A POLITICAL LEADER IN THE FIRST PLACE.

THE NAMES OF A NUMBER OF PROMINENT SOVIET WRITERS AND SCIENTISTS, WHO RAISED THE ALARM TO DRAW PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THE NEED FOR URGENT MEASURES TO SAVE BAIKAL, ARE WELL KNOWN IN OUR COUNTRY AND THE WHOLE WORLD.

LET US SUPPOSE THAT THE RELEVANT ORGANISATIONS DECIDE TO ELECT THEM AS PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES. WILL THESE PEOPLE REDUCE THEIR ACTIVITY TO DEFENDING THE NARROW PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF THE WRITERS' CLAN OR THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES? OF COURSE NOT.

THE TRUE PATRIOT ALWAYS LIVES BY THE CONCERNS OF HIS HOMELAND. THE TASK OF A POLITICIAN, WHO ENJOYS PEOPLE'S TRUST, CONSISTS, PRIMARILY, IN THE ABILITY TO ORGANICALLY LINK THE INTERESTS OF HIS ELECTORATE WITH THE NEEDS OF ALL PEOPLE, WITH THE TASKS OF DEVELOPING SOCIETY AT LARGE, ON WHICH THE WELL-BEING OF EACH OF US DEPENDS IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS.

EVERY NEW DAY OF PERESTROIKA BRINGS FORWARD SUCH PEOPLE FROM EVERY OF SOCIETY.

AND WE HOPE THAT THE NEW BODIES OF AUTHORITY WILL BRING FORWARD THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WORKING CLASS, PEASANTRY, AND INTELLIGENTSIA OF THE COUNTRY.

WE ARE FACING ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT, BUT ALSO THE MOST IMPORTANT, ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN THE ENTIRE HISTORY OF SOVIET POWER, WHEN PRACTICALLY ALL PROCESSES WILL BE HELD ON A NEW BASIS: NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES, THEIR DISCUSSION, COMPARISON OF POSITIONS AND THE FINAL STAGE OF ELECTIONS -- VOTING.

MUCH WISDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY MUST BE SHOWN THEN. THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY DEPENDS TO A LARGE EXTENT ON WHAT THE FIRST COMPOSITION OF THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES OF THE USSR WILL BE AND WHO

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COMES TO THE NEW SUPREME SOVIET.

VII. [NUMBER AS RECEIVED]

COMRADE DEPUTIES, THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET WILL MARK THE BEGINNING OF LEGAL REFORM.

IT PRESUPPOSES A SERIES OF RADICAL CHANGES WHICH MUST COVER THE ENTIRE LAW ENFORCEMENT MECHANISM OF OUR STATE, THE WORK OF THE COURT, PROCURATOR'S OFFICE, THE LEGAL PROFESSION, ARBITRATION, MILITIA AND CORRECTIONAL LABOUR INSTITUTIONS.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECISIONS OF THE 19TH CPSU CONFERENCE THIS GREAT AMOUNT OF WORK MUST BE COMPLETED NEXT YEAR, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING, OF COURSE, THAT THE REFORM WILL NOT BE REDUCED TO MERELY CHANGING THE STRUCTURE, TO ESTABLISHING NEW FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES OF THIS OR THAT BODY, BUT WILL REQUIRE THE ACCUMULATION OF EXPERIENCE OF WORKING IN NEW CONDITIONS, I.E. WILL NEED A MORE PROLONGED PERIOD OF TIME.

THE POINT AT ISSUE TODAY IS THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM WHICH HAS KEY SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE LEGAL SYSTEM. INDEED, THE MAIN INSTRUMENT OF ENFORCING LAW AND ORDER IS THE COURT.

THE FATES OF PEOPLE, DEFENCE OF THEIR INTERESTS, MAINTENANCE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE AND CITIZEN DEFINED BY THE LAW AND THE OBSERVANCE OF PUBLIC ORDER GREATLY DEPEND ON IT.

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TAKE 17 OF 19 -- 060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

///DEPEND ON IT.

LD2911154888

[TEXT] THEREFORE, ENSURING THE INDEPENDENCE AND INVIOABILITY OF JUDGES, THE POSSIBILITY TO ADMINISTER JUSTICE OBJECTIVELY AND WITHOUT BIAS ARE OF OVERWHELMING IMPORTANCE.

IT IS THIS PROBLEM THAT IS ADDRESSED IN THE AMENDMENTS TO THE THREE ARTICLES OF THE CONSTITUTION DEALING WITH THE LEGAL SYSTEM.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE COURT IS LARGELY DETERMINED BY THE WAY IT IS FORMED. THE DRAFT THAT WAS PUBLISHED ENVISAGED THE COURTS IN DISTRICTS, CITIES, AREAS, REGIONS, AND TERRITORIES BEING ELECTED BY THE CORRESPONDING SOVIETS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES.

TO BE FRANK, THIS CAUSED MUCH DEBATE. THE ADOPTED DECISION WAS MOTIVATED BY THE FACT THAT THE JUDGES WILL BE ELECTED NOT BY THE FORMER SOVIETS BUT NEW REPRESENTATIVE BODIES FORMED AS A RESULT OF THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

HOWEVER IN THE COURSE OF THE NATIONWIDE DISCUSSION SUCH A PROCEDURE DID NOT FIND SUPPORT. THE MAJORITY FAVOURED A RETURN TO WHAT WAS ENVISAGED BY THE 19TH CPSU CONFERENCE--ELECTION OF PEOPLE'S JUDGES BY THE HIGHER SOVIETS.

THIS IS FURTHER PROOF OF HOW DETERMINED OUR PEOPLE ARE THAT NO MORE INTERFERENCE BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN THE JUDGES' WORK WILL BE ALLOWED IN FUTURE. A RELEVANT CHANGE HAS BEEN MADE TO THE DRAFT LAW HANDED TO THE DEPUTIES.

IT SHOULD BE STRESSED THAT WHEREAS THE JUDGES WILL BE ELECTED BY THE HIGHER GOVERNING COUNCILS, THE ASSESSORS SERVING ON DISTRICT OR CITY COURTS WILL, AS BEFORE, BE ELECTED BY PEOPLE AT MEETINGS IN THEIR NEIGHBOURHOODS OR PLACES OF EMPLOYMENT BY A SHOW OF HANDS.

ELECTIONS TO THE PEOPLES' COURTS WILL THUS BE BASED ON TWO PRINCIPLES: WHILE THE ASSESSORS WILL BE ELECTED DIRECTLY BY THE POPULATION, THE JUDGES WILL BE ELECTED BY REPRESENTATIVE BODIES OF POWER. THIS COMBINATION IS REASONABLE AND WILL GIVE OUR COURTS ADDED AUTHORITY IN THE EYES OF OUR CITIZENS.

INCREASING THE JUDGES' TERMS OF OFFICE FROM FIVE TO TEN YEARS AND THOSE OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSESSORS TO FIVE YEARS WILL ALSO HELP TO

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PROTECT THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

WHILE MAKING ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE MOST FAVOURABLE POSSIBLE CONDITIONS FOR ADMINISTERING JUSTICE, THE DRAFT LAW STIPULATES AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE JUDGES AND PEOPLE'S ASSESSORS WILL BE ACCOUNTABLE TO THOSE WHO HAVE ELECTED THEM--THE VOTERS AND THE SOVIETS.

THIS, TOO, IS IMPORTANT. ALTHOUGH THE JUDGES OBEY ONLY THE LAW, THEIR WORK SHOULD NOT BE OUTSIDE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL WHICH, NATURALLY, SHOULD NOT MEAN INTERVENTION IN PARTICULAR LEGAL CASES.

FOLLOWING THE ADOPTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS REGARDING THE JUDICIARY, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO ENDORSE NEW FUNDAMENTALS OF FEDERAL AND REPUBLICAN LEGISLATION ON THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN THE USSR, A LAW ON THE STATUS OF JUDGES AND OTHER ACTS WHICH WILL PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR RADICALLY REORGANIZING THE WORK OF ALL AGENCIES WHICH SHOULD PROTECT LAWS, OUR DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND INSTITUTIONS, AND THE FREEDOMS AND RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS.

WE BELIEVE THAT OUR MOVEMENT TO A LAW-GOVERNED STATE SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY A CARDINAL UPDATING OF ALL BASIC BRANCHES OF LEGISLATION.

THE LAW AS AN ACT OF SUPREME STATE AUTHORITY SHOULD BECOME THE BEDROCK OF THE LEGAL ORDER AND EDGE OUT ADMINISTRATIVE ORDINANCES, IN PARTICULAR DEPARTMENTAL NORM-SETTING DECREES.

THE ENACTMENT OF LAWS ON THE RIGHTS OF TRADE UNIONS, ON YOUNG PEOPLE, ON VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES AND ASSOCIATIONS, ON THE PRESS AND OTHER MASS MEDIA, AND ON GLASNOST IN THE ACTIVITIES OF STATE AGENCIES AND MASS ORGANIZATIONS WILL HELP PROMOTE POPULAR SELF-GOVERNMENT AND UPGRADE THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

(MORE)

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///THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

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[TEXT] THE NEED TO ENHANCE GUARANTEES FOR PERSONAL RIGHTS CALLS FOR UPDATING CIVIL, LABOUR, HOUSING AND PENSION LEGISLATION AND ADOPTING LAWS ON FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE, ON PROCEDURES FOR DEALING WITH SUGGESTIONS, REQUESTS AND COMPLAINTS FROM CITIZENS, AND OTHERS.

I WOULD LIKE TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO ANOTHER ESSENTIAL POINT CONCERNING LEGAL REFORM. WHO SHOULD TRANSLATE IT INTO REALITY? IN PRINCIPLE, IT IS, OF COURSE, A COMMON CAUSE BUT IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY BELONGS TO THOSE WHO ARE IN THE LEGAL PROFESSION.

HENCE THE NEED TO SERIOUSLY IMPROVE THE TRAINING OF LEGAL PERSONNEL. LAWYERS ARE NEEDED BY THE GOVERNING COUNCILS, MINISTRIES, ENTERPRISES AND COOPERATIVES, TO SAY NOTHING OF LAW-ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES.

BUT CREATION OF A RULE-OF-LAW STATE CANNOT BE A TASK FOR STATE AGENCIES AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS ALONE. IT CANNOT BE ACHIEVED WITHOUT ACTIVE PARTICIPATION BY ALL PEOPLE, WITHOUT INCREASING THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL AWARENESS OF ALL SOCIETY.

THE DIRECT INVOLVEMENT OF SOVIET PEOPLE IN POLITICS AND THEIR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN RUNNING THE COUNTRY ARE THE MAIN FACTOR IN THIS RESPECT.

COMRADE DEPUTIES,

THE DRAFT LAWS WERE CONSIDERED AT THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE YESTERDAY WITH DUE ACCOUNT FOR THE NATIONWIDE DISCUSSION. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE BELIEVES THAT ON THE WHOLE THEY MEET THE TASKS OF THE REFORM OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM CHARTERED BY THE 19TH ALL-UNION CPSU CONFERENCE.

THREE AND A HALF YEARS AGO THE PARTY EMBARKED ON A COURSE TO RENEW SOVIET SOCIETY. THE GREAT INTELLECTUAL WORK CARRIED OUT SINCE THAT TIME BY THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE HAS MADE IT POSSIBLE TO REALISE MORE PROFOUNDLY BOTH OUR GOALS AND THE MEANS TO ATTAIN THEM.

IN EMBARKING UPON PERESTROIKA, WE HAVE CONCENTRATED ATTENTION PRIMARILY ON ECONOMIC TASKS. THEY STILL HOLD A PREEMINENT POSITION IN THE WORK OF ALL PARTY AND STATE BODIES.

IT IS NECESSARY TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO RESOLVE THE FOOD PROBLEM WITHIN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME AND MEET OTHER VITAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE MORE QUICKLY.

A RADICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE ENTIRE SYSTEM OF RUNNING AND MANAGING THE ECONOMY IS A WAY TO ACHIEVE THIS.

LET ME REPEAT WHAT I SAID AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REPORT: THE KEY TO THE SOLUTION OF ECONOMIC AND ALL OTHER TASKS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IS IN DEMOCRATISING ALL STATE AND PUBLIC LIFE AND

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CREATING POSSIBILITIES FOR THE INITIATIVE, SELF-ACTIVITY AND CREATIVITY OF THE PEOPLE.

BY ADVANCING THE GOAL OF COMBINING SOCIALISM WITH DEMOCRACY AND ON THIS BASIS TAPPING THE ENTIRE POTENTIAL OF OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM, WE HAVE NO RIGHT TO FORGET EVEN FOR ONE MINUTE THAT SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, LIKE ANY DEMOCRACY, HAS NOTHING IN COMMON WITH LACK OF DISCIPLINE, EGOISM AND ANARCHY.

ON THE CONTRARY, FREEING PEOPLE OF EXCESSIVE CONTROL, PROVIDING THEM WITH ALL OPPORTUNITIES FOR FREE SELF-EXPRESSION IN PRODUCTION AND CREATIVE WORK, FOR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN TACKLING PUBLIC AFFAIRS CALLS FOR ENHANCED PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH AND EVERYONE FOR THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY, FOR ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE.

IT IS IN CONDITIONS OF DEMOCRACY THAT CONTEMPT OF THE LAW AND DISREGARD FOR THE INTERESTS AND RIGHTS OF OTHER CITIZENS ARE LEAST PERMISSIBLE.

PERESTROIKA, DEMOCRATISATION AND GLASNOST ARE INSEPARABLE FROM THE CONSOLIDATION OF STATE AND PUBLIC DISCIPLINE AND THE RESOLUTE STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL NEGATIVE PHENOMENA THAT MAKE THEMSELVES FELT IN OUR LIFE.

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-TAKE 19 OF 19 --060 (GORBACHEV SUPSOV SPEECH)

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///IN OUR LIFE.

LD2911155388

[TEXT] A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT OF POLITICAL REFORM.

THE 19TH PARTY CONFERENCE STATED, NOT MERELY THEORETICALLY, BUT ON THE BASIS OF THE REAL PROCESSES OF RECENT TIMES, THE OBJECTIVE LINK OF OUR INTERNATIONAL POLICY WITH THE CHARACTER OF DOMESTIC CHANGES IN THE USSR, WITH OUR PERESTROIKA. TO BE MORE PRECISE, WITH THE DEMOCRATISATION OF SOVIET SOCIETY.

AT THE CONFERENCE, WE AGREED TO SET UP, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE REFORM OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, AN EFFICIENT CONSTITUTIONALLY EMPOWERED MECHANISM OF BUSINESS-LIKE AND SKILLFUL DISCUSSION OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.

THE STRUCTURE OF STATE AUTHORITY WHICH WE ARE NOW DISCUSSING CREATES RELIABLE GUARANTEES THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR WILL FOR PEACE WILL BE CONTAINED ON A STABLE BASIS IN EVERYTHING LINKED WITH OUR INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY.

THE DEEPENING OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND THE SHAPING OF A SOCIALIST STATE COMMITTED TO THE RULE OF LAW MEAN GREATER PEOPLE'S GREATER CONTROL [AS RECEIVED] OVER ALL SPHERES OF POLITICS AND, CONSEQUENTLY, ENSURE GREATER CONSISTENTLY IN FOREIGN POLICY ON THE BASIS OF NEW THINKING.

THE STEADY PROGRESS OF OUR POLITICAL REFORM, THE MAJOR ELEMENT OF WHICH WILL BE THE DECISIONS OF THE CURRENT SESSION AND THEN THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES, CREATES A NEW, DEMOCRATIC SOVIET UNION, ALREADY NOW RECOGNISED AS A MAJOR MORAL AND POLITICAL FACTOR CONTRIBUTING TO IMPROVING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

SUCH IS THE FOREIGN POLICY ASPECT OF THE WORK, COMRADE DEPUTIES, THAT WE ARE DOING. SUCH ARE THE PROSPECTS OF OUR COMMON RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION OF OUR GREAT MULTINATIONAL STATE.

LET ME, COMRADE DEPUTIES, EXPRESS CONFIDENCE THAT THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET WILL APPROVE THE DRAFT LAWS SUBMITTED FOR ITS CONSIDERATION, WHICH HAVE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT THE RESULTS OF THE NATIONWIDE DISCUSSION, AND THUS MAKE A MAJOR STEP TOWARDS UNFOLDING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN THIS COUNTRY.

(ENDALL)

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